THE

Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

Editor: T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, B.A.

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THE HINDU MESSAGE stands for

(1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Cultrre.

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A Vision of India.

INDIAN POLITY

BY K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.,

Thy federal polity I glady sing,
Thy six and fifty kingdom's linked life
Where through keen rivalry and ceaseless strife
Came India's bright imperial blossoming.
And over centuries with faltering wing
My fancy flies. Though fierce red war was rife,
I see the Unseen Power with word and knife
A higher unity teach well and bring.
We have the lesson learnt and learnt aright.
No power in earth or heaven can take away
Our vision of our India unified.
Our Mother comes with regal steps elate.
Prepare the jewelled throne and golden way
For our Queen-Mother, God's Eternal Bride.

Great Thoughts.

[From Tukaram's *Abhangs*]

Though I'm a man of lowly birth
The saints have magnified my worth.

And so within my heart to hide
Has come the great destroyer, pride.

In my fond heart the fancy dwells
That I am wise and no one else.

O, save me, save me, Tuka prays ;
Spent like the wind are all my days.

I know no way by which
My faith thy feet can reach
Nor e'er depart.
How, how can I attain
That thou, O Lord, shalt reign
Within my heart ?

Lord, I beseech thee, hear
And grant to faith sincere,
My heart within,
Thy gracious face to see,
Driving afar from me
Deceit and sin.

O come, I, Tuka, pray,
And ever with me stay,
Mine, mine to be.
Thy mighty hand outstretch
And save a fallen wretch,
Yea, even me.

Events of the Week

A Poona message of Saturday last said that Mahatma Gandhi has been removed to the Sassoon Hospital from Yerrawada Jail for examination in connection with some intended operation and treatment. Dr. Dalal from Bombay and Dr. Jivaraj Metha of Baroda have been called for consultation. The next day we were told that an examination of Mahatma Gandhi by Colonel Madock and a committee of Doctors revealed the necessity of immediate operation. Colonel Madock performed the operation at ten at night with the assistance of Colonel Hooten and Doctor Gokhale. The operation was successful. There had grown an abcess over the appendix. A good deal of puss was taken off. Mahatmaji is alright after the operation. Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Messrs. Paranjpye, Gokhale and Dr. Phatak were present in the Hospital till midnight. While we wish that the Mahatma will be spared to us for a long while yet, the circumstances attending the grave state of his health shed a curious light on methods of jail administration in this country. Complaints about ill-healths of various political prisoners now and then find their way to the Press: the Government is sometimes forced to notice them; communiques are issued, testifying to the untenability of such clamour: and nothing moves the Government from an attitude of wooden immobility. Then comes a serious and almost fatal break-down in the prisoner, as happened in the case of Pratap Narain Vajpai: and then thay wake up, find that they are helpless to arrest the action of Nature. We trust the Government will issue daily and hourly bulletins and allay the natural anxiety of the public as to the health of their illustrious prisoner.

* * *

What part, if any, was played by Lord Reading in the formation of the new Bengal ministry? We all know that his overtures to Mr. Das failed. The story is then continued in the following words by *The Forum*, a sprightly new weekly, under the editorship of the first Editor of the *Servant*, to which we hereby offer our hearty welcome. 'Failing, he yet continued,' writes our contemporary; 'he tried to wrest some success by asking Srijut Byomkesh Chakravarti to undertake what the leader of the Swarajya Party had refused. The all-knowing man in the street is already in possession of the reason why the negotiations miscarried. Lord Lytton and the leader of the nine or ten Independent Nationalists were both accommodating. But fate was working against them, for in the nick of time appears the Viceroy in Calcutta, and, metaphorically speaking, used violence of tongue in stopping his lieutenant from running after glory at the risk of political sobriety. Then came the present ministry.' The story is curious and probably we shall not hear anything more of it.

* * *

The new Governor of Bombay has begun his regime well, though it is two early to say if this liberalistic tendency will last the whole of his term. We were told that the people of Borsad had suddenly lost their affection for law and order. (Borsad is in the Kaira District of Guzerat). They would not help the police to arrest certain criminals who were robbing, plundering and murdering. The Government, in order to reassure the people, imposed punitive police on the whole taluk. What happened after that is not definitely known, because the Government stopped all messages sent from Borsad. Then came the new Governor and we have had a remission of the tax. And a comedy was enacted whereby one who was sentenced by a magistrate to a month's imprisonment for not paying the tax or in the alternative furnishing security was as quickly released, under orders of the higher authorities. It follows from this that the other prisoners will also be released automatically, as their detention is manifestly illegal.

* * *

The release of Vinayak Savarkar is another act which will redound to the credit of the Governor for righteousness. The press had rung with cries of the monstrous injustice inflicted on that unhappy young man, of the unheard-of sentence of double transportation for life. Though the Bismarckian gospel in politics of one hand washing the other had full play and severe conditions have been attached to his parole—as it virtually amounts to for a period of years,—one cannot wonder that the young man should have thought freedom cheap at even such a price. Whether all this be only clever attempts to steal the Nationalists' thunders, a stroke of opportunism in order to face the new music likely to be heard in the Council-chambers in the future, or a sign of returning sense in the Governors of the land is an idle speculation at the moment. We shall no doubt learn as we go.

* * *

The last hope would however seem to be a trifle premature. The Punjab is today the storm-centre in Indian politics—on account of communal dissensions no less than the unprecedented Sikh agitation now going on there. Sir Malcolm Hailey is exactly the last person who ought to have been appointed its Governor. That almost all the major provinces have now civilian governors is another fly in the ointment. Now this appointment raises another interesting question. The Senior Member of the Viceroy's Council is now Sir Mahomed Shafi. Will he be given the Home Membership? And will he accept it unless on a promise to reverse the unfortunate policy now being adopted in his own provinces?

* * *

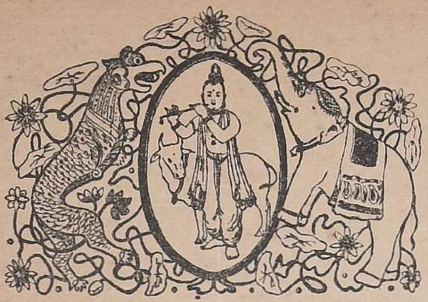
The fury raised by the Bengal Pact has not yet abated. Of that Pact as well as the National Pact of the Congress we hope to say something later on. Meanwhile we note that an influential Hindu manifesto, signed by Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee among others, has been issued condemning the pact in every conceivable particle of its assumptions. Concludes the manifesto truly enough:—'Pacts and conventions may serve as useful artificial aids, they may even be valuable indication of the deeper undercurrents of public feeling, but what is really needed for the solution of the outstanding issues between Hindus and Mahomedans is a union of hearts and the reciprocal play of love and sympathy which will remove all misunderstanding and link the two communities in the golden ties of an indissoluble brotherhood. Our appeal to the Hindus and Mahomedans alike is to cultivate this feeling of brotherly love to have more of it and less of pacts and conventions.'

* * *

Desabandhu C. R. Das has been elected unopposed for the Bengal Provincial Council from the Midnapur South non-Mahammadan constituency. How much do we wish that he had gone to the Legislative Assembly. All the most prominent leaders of the Swarajya Party are now in the Assembly and it would have been quite in the fitness of things had Mr. Das, the undaunted leader of of that Party, found a place in the Assembly where he can lead his party through the thick of the fight. The field of battle for the Swaraj fight is, obviously, Delhi and Simla and we are sure every one would have liked to see the foremost fighter in the midst of the fight. Perhaps our wish may yet become true. The entry of Mr. Das into the Bengal Council has been a surprise to all of us. When he firmly declined to contest a seat during the last General Election none expected him to stand for a bye-election. Similarly another welcome surprise may be in store for us. He may yet jump into the Assembly quite unexpectedly. How much we wish it to happen.

* * *

As we go to Press we learn that the Doctors have pronounced the Mahatmaji to be "out of danger." Oh! What a sense of relief! It is impossible to adequately express in words the tense feeling of anxiety with which, the whole of India—from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—and Burma turned their thoughts to the bed-side of the frail figure at the Sassoon Hospital, Poona and eagerly watched to hear the latest news about the health of their ideal leader. The responsibility of the Doctors was immense and we are glad that Col. Madock realised the gravity of the situation and acted promptly. May God, the Almighty, restore the noble Mahatmaji quickly to perfect health.



The Hindu Message

Marriage and Race-Regeneration.

In India today, the hand of every community and caste is set against every other; and men of every race and creed stand in arms against those of all others. The skilled artillery and persistent battery of reformers from within and assailants from without are everywhere specially directed against the hoary, and still living and changing, institution of *Chatur-Varnya*. They forget that all parts of the social organism, whether it consists of Western classes or Eastern castes, must rise and fall together, and that the best social constitution and life, whether physical or mental, must be one in which environment, heredity, and bringing-up have combined to give the best results. The people of the West have hitherto chiefly cared for the improvement of the material environment as the means for the achievement of social progress and efficiency. For, the ultimate end and aim of each community and race has been its own survival only as the fittest in the struggle for existence. It is only within recent years that a change has come over their outlook on life and its aims,—and men have begun to aim at the betterment of the life of the organism and to suggest various means for its accomplishment. Social reformers have, within the last few decades, divised new schemes of social betterment,—the emancipation of women so as to place them on an equality with men in all the avocations of life, the reduction of marriage to a civil contract of a more or less temporary character with absolute freedom for all to choose their mates, the abolition of all inequalities of social status among individuals and families so as to end the yawning gap of class distinctions between the nobility at the top and the proletariat at the bottom of the scale. The results of the encouragement of these new ideals have already in practice been such that, like frightened children, the reformers of the West have begun to look with alarm on the will-o'-the wisps they have raised from the unknown regions and subterranean depths which they have opened to men's gaze in their search after a "new heaven"—an improved pattern of civilisation—on earth. The effect has in truth been to reverse the movement of the pendulum,—to turn men's minds back again from the environment to the organism, and the methods of race-regeneration. According to Whetham, "it is much more radically necessary to improve the condition of the race through parentage than through change of environment." And further, "after seventy years we find no convincing proof that the quality of our people is one whit better than what it was when for a large part they lived in filth, were ravaged by disease, bred at random, soaked themselves in alcohol, and took no thought for the morrow." So recently as 1909, the British Royal Commission on Poor Law reported that pauperism, infantile mortality, feeble-mindedness or even lunacy, criminality aud prostitution were all on the increase. Investigators are now convinced that an aggressive and exploiting civilisation, with all its commercial devices, political schemes and economic resources—with all its methods of chicane, whether of the school of Machiavelli, Castlereagh, or Kitchener—is not the means by which the highest form of society can be attained or preserved on earth. As has been rightly said:—"We are certainly, without intending it, doing our best to lower the level of life;"—"natural selection kills off the unfit, no doubt, and that may be well, but it goes further and tends to render the fit unfit, and that is not well."

The new science of Eugenics has now arisen to bring about "the regeneration of the race by the application of the laws of life." Its aim has been stated to be, "to make the survival of the fittest the survival of the best"—"the production of noble men and women." Its methods are, chiefly, (1) improved education and, especially, education for parenthood; (2) the practice and encouragement of good breeding among the living, chiefly in the form of parenthood on the part of the worthy, but without compulsory mating; (3) propaganda against luxury, and to promote the living of the best kind of life of all kinds; (4) segregation. Havelock Ellis holds that "it is not true that men have ever felt free to choose their mates for life at random"—that "there is no great hardship involved in the injunction to marry into the caste of the well-born, and the class of the wealthy; and the less hardship, since those classes and castes will always be, on the whole, the most attractive."

But, how are these new and eugenic methods to be brought into practice? Not certainly by legislation, for, as Havelock Ellis has said well:—"The law is a dead letter, disregarded or evaded, if it is not the outcome of the personal conviction of the people." Hence he has righty declared as follows:—"It is in the developed individual conscience, guided by a new sense of responsibility, and informed by a new knowledge, that any regeneration of the race must be rooted." These words of supreme wisdom must be written in characters of gold and engraved in men's hearts everywhere,—especially among the *novi homines* of the India of today. Even as fanatical eugenists in the West have demanded legislation to promote compulsory mating and the giving of financial help by the State for rearing children brought into existence by its laws, so fanatical reformers in India have resorted to, and are daily pressing the need of resorting to further legislation in order to change completely the character of the

Indian population. Prof. G. C. Bhate speaking at the recent Poona Social Reform Conference, said:—"Only I have to point out that one great method of advancing social reform which is taken advantage of in all countries, we are not making use of,—*i. e.*, Law is a potent power to secure social reform in many directions. People were nervous about this in the past. But now that our legislative bodies have become largely elective and popular, there should be no hesitation in having resort to the agency of law, and especially of a permissive character, to bring about desired changes in our customs and practices." The so-called "*permissive legislation*" is tantamount to the granting of *license* to a few unthinking faddists or fanatics with a view to refuse *freedom* or make it impossible for—the large majority of sensible Indians who have never felt it a grievance that they have not been licensed to choose their partners for life in a random fit of passionate emotion, or as a purely accidental occurrance quite apart from orderly and intelligent determination by men who act according to usages and conventions established by the "supermen" and leaders, divine or almost divine in their foreknowledge and omniscience, as we find them to be even if we judge them in the light afforded by modern knowledge.

The blessed Bhagavan has taught us in the Gita that, in all our activities, we must be guided by the example of "the ancestors of the most ancient days who wished to attain liberation from Samsara." (IV.15.) He gives also his own example as one that we should adopt, and explains in what spirit he acted when engaged in the work of creating the four castes or in other activities (IV.13, 14). We gather therefore, that the only desire and purpose of our activity should be to attain deliverance from the bondage of Samsara. It is for this reason only that we should always follow the precepts contained in the Vedas and the Dharma-Sastras. Swami Vivekananda has recently taught to us, his contemporaries,—"We must revive the old laws of the Rishis. We must initiate the whole people into the codes of our old Manu and Yajnavalkya with a few modifications here and there to adjust them to the changed circumstances of the time." And again:—"Remember always that there is not in this world one other country whose institutions are really better in their aims and objects than the institutions of this land. I have seen castes in almost every country in the world, but nowhere is their plan and purpose so glorious as here." Now-a-days there have arisen, especially in South India, educated and denationalised Hindu iconaclasts who denounce Manu as "the enemy of man,"—the marvellous law-giver, Manu, the divine architect who built the magnificent edifice of Hindu society in the immemorial past on a broad, lasting, and rational basis. Let us listen to a European philosopher—Neitzsche—who has exercised in modern times the greatest influence on the activities of men and nations in modern Europe and elsewhere:—"Such a law-book as that of Manu sums up the experience, sagacity and experimental morals of long centuries, it comes to a final decision; it does not devise expedients any longer ....At a certain point in the development of a nation, the book with the most penetrative insight pronounces that the experience according to which people are to live,—*i. e.*, according to which they can live,—has at last been decided upon. The aim thereof is to garner the largest and richest harvest possible from the times of experiment and unfortunate experience. Consequently that which has to be specially obviated is the further persistence in experimenting, the continuation of the fluid condition of values, the testing, selecting and criticising of values *ad infinitum*. A double wall is put against this state of things—God gave it, ancestors obeyed it. The rationale of such procedure is to oust consciousness step by step from the sphere of life recognised as correct (as proved by an immense and carefully-sifted experience) so as to obtain complete automatism of instinct,—the pre-requisite for every kind of superiority, for every kind of perfection in the art of living. To draw up a law-book like that of Manu means to permit a nation henceforth to get the upper hand, to become perfect, to be ambitious of the highest art of living." It is then, no wonder that Swami Vivekananda himself wants us "to revive the old laws of the Rishis,"—"to initiate the whole people into the codes of our Manu and Yajnavalkya."

On our present subject of marriage and race-regeneration Manu and our fore-fathers—the Maharshis, Bhrigu (see Gita, X. 25) and others to whom Manu taught the precepts of Dharma in order that they may practise them and hand them on to their descendants in the remotest times—have advanced far beyond our modern eugenists in estimating the principles of selection and heredity on the character and destiny of the human organism as more important than the interaction of man on the environment and *vice versa* as the source of man's power and progress. Professor Satish Chander Mookerjee has well said:—"The whole of the social economy of the Hindus has been largely dominated by the same considerations as have of late commenced to weigh with the modern Eugenists of Europe." The whole object of the institutions and rules regarding marriage laid down in the Dharma-Sastras of Manu and the Rishis who followed him in later ages is the betterment of the life of the human organism so as to attain to what Manu calls "the highest place, the permanent abode of Brahma" (XII). Manu gives purely eugenic precepts, for the basis of all his rules of marriage is stated as follows:—"The woman is called the field and man is called the seed...In some cases, the seed is superior, in others the body of the woman; the children are best where both are equal" (IX. 33, 34). "Taking all Varnas into account, we must understand that those are to be accepted as belonging to pure Varnas who are born to wives of equal status and who were married before they attained the age of puberty and according to the proper rule (by which a Brahmin marries a Brahmin wife, a Kshatriya a Kshatriya wife, etc.). Those who are born to the twice-born (even) with wives of Varnas next below them,—as being degraded by the mother's (comparative) impurity,—can only be considered as *similar* to,—but not of the *same* high quality as,—the

father (X 5, 6). "In whatever country persons of mixed caste who spoil the Varnas by violations of all rules of purity are produced, that country and its people are ruined,"—ruined, of course, from a spiritual or Dharmic point of view. Spirituality or Dharmic fitness can be kept up, renewed, and regenerated, among all Varnas only by providing that marriages are not indiscriminately made, but are made so as to preserve the type of man needed to fulfil the special function of India in the carrying out of the plan and purpose of God's creation,—the scheme which Swami Vivekananda disclosed to the modern world in his momentous, and mighty declaration and challenge to it, *viz.*, "India is the land to which all souls must come wending their way to God."

Not only does Manu lay down regulations to prevent intermarriages between the followers of the Aryan religion (who can only be such by birth) and those who are outside the pale of that religion and who can only be brought into it by re-birth according to the law of Karma,—but he also laid down restrictions—by means of the well-known and wisely-conceived eugenic regulations regarding Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages—on inter-marriages between the various occupational castes and sub-castes of the Aryas by religion which came to be distinguished from each other on the economic principle of separation of employments. The object of marriage among Hindus is not to satisfy the sexual instinct, but to produce the best offspring. The selection of the bride, too, is left to the father, from an obviously eugenic motive. Love is proverbially blind, as also,—we would add—frequently, the love of money. Where men are left free to follow the promptings of these motives, we can unhesitatingly assert that eugenic principles will be largely ignored. Manu, IX. 88, lays down the following rule:—"To a distinguished handsome suitor of the same caste, a father should give his daughter in accordance with the prescribed rule, though she has not attained the prescribed age." This rule is clearly and entirely dictated by an over-ruling eugenic motive; and, accordingly, the rules which follow immediately and relate to the same topic must be understood as having a similar significance and aim. Sloka 89, for instance, says:—"The maiden, even though she has attained puberty, should rather stop in the father's house until death than that she should ever give herself to a man not possessing the quality,"—viz., the quality of not belonging to the same Varna. The quality (Guna) here mentioned must be the same as including all those mentioned in the previous sloka,—viz., superior distinction, handsome form, and being of the same Varna. The Bhagavad-Gita also condemns mongrelism or *Varna-sankara*, which is nothing but the free, promiscuous, and thoughtless crossing of the sexes in such a manner as to introduce into all ranks of society germ-plasms from degenerate types of humanity and destroy thereby the biological gains arising from the regulation of marriages. The *Saturday Review*, writing on the 8th June, 1912, stated that "in the future when more is known about heredity we might be able to eliminate the evils of the caste system, but at present it is premature to tell us that we should breed up to it." It is, further, in doubt "whether the last word of the most modern science (of Eugenics) should move us to emulate the ideal of Hinduism and to settle ourselves on the basis of caste." No institution entrusted to human care and custody can escape altogether from the fate of breeding imperfections and impurities; and we may not be able altogether to "eliminate evils" from arising in it in course of time as a consequence of human frailties. But we are now sure where eugenic investigations are leading scientific men, in spite of the imperfection, immaturity and indefiniteness of some of their conclusions. Hence Hindus need not, and should not, be over-anxious to destroy an institution which has maintained itself against overwhelming odds in the world's struggle for life and progress. It is necessary, also, to ponder over the great modern apostle, Swami Vivekananda's advice to us:—"The numberless modern subdivisions of the Brahmanas that split them into so many castes, as it were, have to be abolished and a single Brahmana caste to be made by uniting them. Each of the three remaining castes will have to be brought similarly into single groups, as was the case in Vedic times." The great Indian civilian and art-critic, Sir George Birdwood, has also always written and spoken in appreciative terms of "the caste system of the Code of Manu, the charter of the very existence of India—the breaking of which would reduce India to a deadlier anarchy than that of a thousand years, we brought to an end, by our great victory of Plassey."

The Philosophical Message of India.

III.

By P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar M. A.

The discussion of recent psychological and philosophical theories of Europe that has preceded, is bound to leave the reader's mind in a whirl. European philosophy is a maze, like the fabled one of Ancient Crete, a maze, not of theories for unlimited divergence of theories is sure to be the crop of fields where the wild growth of unmitigated speculation takes the place of the cultivation of ideas regulated by logic and constantly weeded by appeal to actual experience. But the maze of European philosophy is one of words, impossible to be translated into mental images or verified by appeal to Pratyaksha on any plane of experience. This is due to the peculiar procedure of European philosophers. The author of every Indian Sastra begins his exposition with terse definitions of the technical words belonging to the Sastra; and these words are not the words of common speech, with vague connotations and vaguer implications. A model of the Indian method of exposition is found in Patanjali's Yoga Sutras, where from the beginning every technical word used by the Rishi is most clearly defined the very first time it is used. Not so the method adopted by Europen expounders of philosophy. The word 'philosophy' is one of such undefinable import that it has been used as the name of any and every department of knowledge—metaphysics, psychology physics, chemistry, mixed mathematics and what not. In the case of European languages, there seems to be a threefold division of caste among words; they occupy three lokas, three planes of being

and possess three different spheres of meaning. First there is the use of words by the common man in his ordinary talk, wherein he uses them without much consciousness of their meanings if challenged, the ordinary user of words can define none of the words he uses. Then there is the use of words in literature. The literary man, being a professional dealer in words, may be expected to be more careful in the use of words than the common man. That he is, no doubt. But a writer, an essayist, a poet need not be a thinker; and the result is that he extends the implications of words, enlarges the sphere of their application, but he is no more able to define the words he uses than the common man. Lastly comes the philosopher he uses the very words used by the common man and the author of literature, each word being surrounded by a hazy veil and builds a frail bridge from the world of daily experience, the world of Pratyaksha to that of Anumana with the half-baked bricks of the words of ordinary use. Is it any wonder that the result of reading of European books on philosophy is a delirium of words? This is what every reader of the tons of books which have been written by European philosophers feels; especially if he contrasts the method of Indian Sastrakaras with that of the Westerns.

Even European writers latterly have begun to take this view. Says a recent writer:—"These three kinds of observation—namely, (1) introspection, or the noticing of one's own experiences, (2) observation of the conditions or occasions of experiences, (3) observation of the expression of experiences—are practised by all men with some degree of success; and common speech embodies many general propositions based upon them. Such propositions constitute the popular psychology which we inevitably acquire in learning the use of language. Until we begin to study psychology scientifically, we inevitably make use of these forms of speech and accept more or less uncritically the propositions expressed or implied by them. Most of these implications of common speech is more or less true; for they embody the wisdom of the ages. But most of the words used in popular psychology are so vague and ill-defined that it is very difficult to formulate in such terms any unambiguous propositions or to convey any clear meaning." This is the lowest plane which contributes his tools to the thinker; and if he builds on such shifting foundations his edifice of thought, is it any wonder that it cracks and sinks as soon as possible. But this is not all; now comes the literary man, he who weaves new phrases out of old phrases without feeling the responsibility of endowing the phrases with any wealth of meaning. Says the same writer:—"The literary art largely consists in so combining the words and phrases of popular psychology as to convey such meaning more effectively than the common speech of the common man can do. The cultivation of literature or the art of letters has thus greatly refined the psychology of common speech; and, when we speak of a cultivated man, we generally mean one who has learnt to appreciate and to make use of this more subtle and effective literary psychology. Persons whose education has been mainly literary, and who have learnt to appreciate highly and to use with some skill this more subtle literary psychology, are very apt to take the view that it is the only form of psychology of any value and that the attempt to deal scientifically, with the facts of experience, or to make a scientific psychology, is mistaken and fruitless. But this anti-scientific view is ill-founded; there need be, and should be no antagonism between literary and scientific psychology. From this point onwards I shall use the terms 'psychology' and 'psychologist' to denote the scientific varieties: but in doing so, I shall imply no disrespect for the achievements in this sphere of poets and biographers and writers of romance. The wise psychologist will regard literature as a vast store-house of information about human experience, and will not neglect to draw from it what he can."

From this we learn that in Europe there are three layers of psychology—folk psychology, literary psychology, and scientific psychology of several "varieties". Just as in modern European society men rise from the ranks—the class called in Sanskrit the Vaisya, from *vis*, the people—, work their way to the station of Kshattriya, the defender of of the realm, the ruler, to that of the Brahmana, the thinker, the teacher, the one who prefers high thinking to high living (if such there be), so too knowledge rises from below to above. And as the man who has thus risen, he who in other social organizations will be called a parvenu, an upstart will retain in his higher sphere, plenty of traces of the shady side of the lower levels he has inhabited, psychology, even the "scientific varieties" (and there are many) of them are smothered with the terms and propositions it has gathered in its painful upward march. In India, the method of the development of knowledge has been just the opposite. Each school of philosophy has started from an incarnation of Vishnu, a divine person or a Rishi. The European rationalist, who when he does not like to believe a proposition demands evidence for its truth such as would satisfy him, may not believe Kapila, the first teacher of the glorious Sankhya system, oldest of Darsanas, but more advanced from the newest of them, to be an incarnation of Vishnu; he may not like to admit that Brihaspati, the author of Lokayata (otherwise called Charvaka), was the teacher of the Gods; he may be unwilling to admit that Patanjali, Kanada and Akshapada, Jaimini and Badarayana, Yaska and Saunaka were inspired thinkers and writers. But he must admit that they were not folk-psychologists or literary psychologists but were trained thinkers. Hence knowledge, with us, began with thinkers, and thence spread gradually to literary men and to common folk. Therefore there is no ambiguity about the fundamental positions of our philosophers or uncertainty about the meanings of the terms they use.

Add to this the fact that what an Indian writer expresses by a sentence, a Sutra which is very often a phrase or a mere word, a Europen writer requires a whole chapter or a book to expound. The Indian compresses his expression to the point of obscurity, he appears to regard each word, each letter as much more costly than an emerald or diamond and is frightfully anxious to economize them. But a European writer requires a vast volume to expound the meaning compressed in one Sanskrit aphorism. How far this is due to the unphilosophical structure of their languages, where the same word exists in three levels of thought or rather of want of thought, where knowledge evolves like animals from lowly, simple forms to higher, more complicated ones, but burdened with useless, harmful, more or less atrophied vestigial structures, to the unwillingness of their thinkers, to pursue ideas boldly to their logical

consequences, and to the fact that in modern commercialized Europe, people write books for money and are paid by publishers by the yard, thus holding out the temptation to eke out into a volume what ought to form but a sentence, cannot be here discussed.

Another reason why European philosophical treatises look to an Indian, accustomed to the precise vocabulary of Sanskrit Sastras, is the inveterate tendency of European thinkers to "reify" words, as it has been happily called, *i.e.*, to imagine that every word must refer to a thing. European philosophers assume that if they can invent a word, there must be thing. Thus words 'faculty', 'ideas', 'sensation', 'consciousness', 'conscious idea', 'unconscious idea,' 'unconscious consciousness,' 'apperception', 'conception', intellection', 'emotion,' 'sentiment,' 'conscience', 'will', and heaps of others, none of which has been or can be defined, all which are abstractions from experience and not *things* experienced are reified, made into things. These words dance wildly through the pages of philosophical books; these counters pass for coins in Europe. After endless attempts to wrangle with them, one is driven to the conclusion that where a European philosophical term cannot be translated into Sanskrit, it is but, like the hare's horn, the sky-flower, a form of words without meaning.

Labour Ministry and India.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri has often shown an aptitude to be cleverer than he is wise. And we fear his suggestion, that, when Labour comes into power in a few weeks as is likely, everybody in India should send up congratulations in an agreed set of resolutions, comes under the former category. That Labour will not be so unsympathetic towards India as either of the two historic parties is generally admitted; but what is not so generally understood is that Labour—which has now to prove its fitness to govern England—will not favour any startling discontinuity in tradition. Mr. Sastri himself indicates that he does not expect a new heaven to open out in this country at the magic of Labour's advent to power. What the historian of Greece told of his countrymen more than half a century ago still applies, we think. "I have come to perceive," said Grote, "that the choice between one man and another among the English people, signifies less than I used formerly to think it did. The English mind is much of one pattern, take whatso-ever class you will. The same favourite prejudices, amiable and otherwise; the same antipathies, coupled with ill-regulated though benevolent efforts to eradicate human evils, are well-nigh universal. A House of Commons cannot afford to be above its own constituencies in intelligence, knowledga or patriotism." That is the statement of a truth which, we think, will not be challenged by Mr. Sastri. Then why does he make that astonishingly inept suggestion? Whatever party may come into power in England, the conditions of the Indian problem may and are bound to remain the same. A Labour Government may temper repression: But such an attitude is bound in the long run to prove fatal to resurgent nationalism in any country. The worst of a benevolent tyrant is that the benevolence dulls the edge of nationalism and people are content to be dumb, driven cattle. An unexampled energy has been roused in the nation in these late years and to suggest that it will find not an ignoble culmination in singing hallelujahs to a Labour Primier is to take a wrong conception of the duties of a Publicist in these stirring times. The mentality behind it all is the familiar one. As a result of infinite travail and hoarse cries in the wilderness, the country has come to realise the truth of the dictum of an eminent man of our province that "political privilege cannot be fittingly bestowed as alms, but must be earned and claimed as the legitimate due of civic merit in the subject." However halting, imperfect, somewhat dubious and ill-directed, the great national organisation in this country has been engaged in putting by a fund of civic merit in the great races that call this country their own. With admirable persistence and energy undaunted by official disfavour and repression or the refrigerating help of our liberal compatriots, the Congress has been trying to carry out the economic and cultural regeneration of the country." Those who ought to have stood by it and saved it from its eccentricities, sulked in a tent of their own, covertly helped the Government to place impediments in its path, thus put it on its defence and served to get it on to further and accentuated eccentricity of conduct and tactics. The vital need of the hour, therefore, is to push on the constructive programne of which the most important is the preservation of Hindu-Moslem unity. And it is doing a disservice to the country's cause to seek to give it a twist based on a speculative reading of governing men's minds in England. Honestly we do not believe that the masses of the country or any large section of its articulate population place any faith in the dawning of wisdom among the British voters, who are the masters of Parliament and when once again you introduce in our working politics the pernicious maxim that one party rather than another in British politics will be your saviour the psychological effect will be to hinder the progress of these great experiments now being tried to find the strength in ourselves. What individual leaders even of the Congress camps may do is quite a different question. We approach it from the standpoint of mass psychology. If the Rt. Hon. Sastri and his somewhat conglomerate group will enter the field of action side by side, even if not in union with Congressmen and demonstrate to the world that they have made a nation from the unpromising materials that this land is supposed to have in plenty, it will be time to speculate about the disposition of British political parties.

Reviews.

Rajaputra Vijayam or The History of Heroes.

Part I by Sriman M. S. Subramania Aiyer.

Messrs Mailvahan & Co. Madras. Price Rs. 1—4—0

It gives us much pleasure to review this book which appears to be the first of a series of six parts describing the wonderful exploits and the marvellous heroic deeds of the heroes and heroines of Rajasthan to the Tamil reading public The author is a good Tamil scholar having been trained as a journalist in the 'Swadesamitran' office for over 10 years under the influence of that most fearless and veteran journalist the late Mr. G. Subramania Iyer. In addition to his literary accomplishments he has acquired under the above influence a deep love of the motherland. He has written hitherto something like ten books in Tamil namely Aryacharitram, Tirukkural moral stories, India and Home Rule etc, etc., which are all very popular. The plan of the present series of six parts was conceived and the work itself was completely written by him during his enforced rest for one year at the Cuddalore Jail. We have thus to thank Lord Willingdon—the benevolent attention of whose Government was attracted by the political activities of our author—who obligingly provided him with the opportunity to enjoy the hospitality of His Majesty's prison accomodation at Cuddalore. Such is the genesis of this all-absorbing historical narrative. In the words of Mr. V. Chakkarai B. A: B. L., who has written an Introduction to this book, the author "has opened up the halls of ancient and mediaeval romance to our imagination; and we can see the Rajput knights and ladies riding by as in the tournaments of courts, or in the fiery ordeal of battle. What Indian will be left unmoved when he reads of the Rajput women throwing themselves into the fire without any fear, to escape the humiliation of capture, to save the precious jewel of chastity? In these days when Indian Nationhood is being developed to resume its ancient vigour and nobility, it is necessary that we

should live near and drink deep of these fountains of patriotism and devotion to our National Dharma." We heartily recommend this thrilling historical narrative to every patriotic son of Mother Ind and eagerly await the publication of the subsequent parts also. The present volume is neatly got up with two half-tone illustrations and is dedicated to Sriyuta S. Srinivasa Aiyangar whose portrait dressed in khaddar appears as the frontispiece.

Swarnambujam or Pati Bhakti by Srij. G. B, MAHALINGAM. Messrs T. Radhakrishna Aiyar & Co., Madras. Price As 8.

This is an interesting discourse on the devotion of the wife to her husband. The heroine is a royal princess who secretly weds a king, (then in dire poverty having lost his kingdom and all). During the absence of the husband to fetch some edibles God Indra in the guise of an old Brahmin appears before the Princess and tries to persuade her to go back to her parents leaving her husband in the lurch. The princess refuses to do so and lectures to the old Brahmin on "the devotion of the wife to the husband." In the end Indra goes away foiled in his attempt and by the grace of Goddess Lakshmi the husband regains his lost kingdom and lives happily with his wife.

Short Story.

"Two birds at one Shot."

By Dr. T. V. S. Shastri, L. M. S.,.

'Want a story for your journal,' said, the doctor. 'Well I have n't got one ready, nor can I find the time to write one, but I will narrate an incident to you, you make a story out of it.'

The journalist took out his note-book and got ready.

'What would be the best title for the story,' he asked.

'Killing two birds at one shot,' returned the other laughing after some consideration.

'Oh !' slyly exclaimed the other, getting busy with his notebook, 'one of your professional achievements, I suppose.'

'Yes,' returned the other, unruffled by the insinuation. 'But not in the sense in which you take it,' and then narrated the following :

"Mr. K. R. K. V. Karuppan Chettiar was a young man of the Nagarathar community. Like the rest of his community, banking and money lending was his profession. But our friend was more of the typical Minor,—(wealthy young spendthrift), than of the banker. His father having considerately died early, after amassing a good fortune in distant lands, the son became heir, to more money than he ever handled and to a good lucrative business managed by capable agents, which did not involve considerable exertion on the part of the chief. The frugal habits taught by the father, soon gave way before the skilful attempts of the artists, who were adepts in the art of spending—other people's money. In a much shorter time than usual the young man not only lost a considerable amount of his money but also found that his health was shattered.

The progress of civilisation has indeed made the lot of married men, much harder in more ways than one, than that of the destitute whose only worry perhaps is to fill their gnawing stomachs !

The Chettiar came up for treatment. The doctor who took up his case realised the gravity of the case though the patient never did. The doctor was young and was fully aware of the heavy responsibility involved in treating a wealthy patient, with a serious complaint whose endeavours seemed to be all directed towards the ruining of his health as far as possible. The condition of the patient, reaching the ears of the young chettiar's relatives a number of them came and surrounded him. Among them his wife also. The mother and wife with tears in their eyes, cried that no efforts should be spared to save the young man's life, and added that unless he were completely weaned from his late associates and made to lead a reformed life, their existance would be worth nothing. Meantime a letter, arrived. It was posted only from Srirangam."

The docter paused.

'Was the poor Chettiar one of the two birds, doctor?,' exclaimed the journalist.

"Yes ! but not as you take it," smiled the doctor, "and now before disclosing the contents of the letter, let me first assure you, that the patient was cured so as to prevent further interruptions from you. Everything did not end happily though. The Chettiar, in whom all traces of the proverbial, frugality of his race, seemed to have disappeared, now at the time of paying the doctor appeared to suffer from the hereditary influences of generations of stingy parentage. The doctor, considered that his services were not recompensed in a fitting manner.

An appeal to the mother, elecited the answer that she was not concerned with the affair. But that, if the doctor could reform her boy, and induce him to lead a steady life she would hand him acheque for Rs. 500. The doctor was hard up and considered himself not liberally recompensed."

" Well, doctor, you need not apologise. Cut it short and come to the point."

" I am coming to it," continued the doctor, " and now comes the letter. The doctor produced it before an assembly consisting of the Chettiar, his relations and friends saying that he got it a month previously during the period of treatment. The letter was posted only from Srirangam and was written evidently with the left hand, in a not very educated style.

" I write this letter to you with a view to benefit you and at the same time satisfy myself—thus killing two birds at one shot, somewhat literally.

" I am a dancing girl by caste. Your patient the Chettiar has been my patron for a long time. Recently he has deserted me and even spoken ill of me, adding insult to injury. His conduct has raised the devil in me and I am prepared to spend any amount to be revenged on him. I know you are suffering from chronic hard-up-ness.

" I learn that you are treating my former *friend*. I learn also that you are giving him injections. A medical friend of mine told me that many deaths have accidentally occurred on account of the entry of an air bubble into a vein in the course of injections. *I want that such an accident should happen in this case* also.

" Your patient is after all a money-lender not liberal with his cash and most probably will not pay you as much as you expect from him. Nor is his life such a valuable or useful one, as to be a loss to the world. Let him have the accident and the very next day you will get an envelope containing Rs. 500 in ten rupee notes.

" While writing to an intelligent man I need not be more explicit.

" For obvious reasons, I have not signed this letter, and I have purposely disguised my handwriting.

Your friend.

P. S. I know I can't get a reply. But in case you agree to my 'proposal', put up an advertisement in the Swadesamithran of date............that some medicine is available in your dispensary. Then I will have the cash ready. I have herewith also sent you the charges for the insertion of the advertisement in one rupee notes ; which also proves that I am earnest in this affair."

When the letter was read, the doctor mildly added, it is a strange world this, the persons most concerned set a lower value on the life of an individual and one is promised more money for taking a life, than what one gets for saving it.

The Chettiar's face flushed. At once he handed over a separate cheque for Rs. 500 besides what he had paid already saying, "Doctor, never be sorry that you have not done a vile act. I not only give you glady what that vile woman has promised you, but will feel grateful to you for ever for having opened my eyes. Henceforth you will find me a thoroughly changed man. I would have nothing to do with any mercenary creatures of the stamp of that wretched woman."

Tears poured from the young man's eyes—in spite of his vices his heart was in the right place.

The doctor turned towards the mother. She understood the mute appeal and drew forth her cheque for Rs. 500. And everything ended happily, the chettiar thenceforth leading a steady life, doing as much good to the really destitute as he could, the words in the letter, about the worthlessness of his life having goaded him to bestow some thought upon it. Thus did the doctor get a lot of money and at the same time reform a young man of good family—two birds at one shot."

Editorial note:—We suspect that the letter must have been written and posted by the doctor himself.

Miscellaneous.

The Cocanada Congress—Some impressions.

By T. V. Balakrishna Sastri B.A., B.L.

The Congress was a huge success. The erection of Gandhinagar and the conduct of all the varied proceedings therein was a triumph of organisation and self-discipline. Gandhinagar laid out on the outskirts of the Cocanada Municipality was a temporarily put up city of Khaddar tents and mat-sheds covering an area of half a mile by half. Every detail of comfort, safety and convenience was carefully, thought out and provided for therein. Next to the marginal road enclosing the square, on one side of it were the delegates' quarters, neat and commodious, arranged in rows. On another side of the square were the quarters for delegates who had come with their families, and next to it the distinguished delegates' camps including that of the President. On the third side, the Muslims and Akali Sikhs had their distinctive encampments side by side. At Shaukabad, the Muslims held the Khilafat Conference, whilst by their side in their own camp over which waved their communal black and yellow flag the Akali Sikhs held the Dewan of the Sacred Granth and their free kitchen for the poor. On the fourth side were the shops where all sorts of things required, necessities or superfluities were sold to delegates and visitors. The only article banned was foreign cloth. Therein also were the Congress Kitchens and dining sheds, and lunch and coffee hotels and fruit stalls kept by private persons. The spacious Khaddar tent in the centre mainly supported on by three high-mast pillars in the middle, over which waved tricolour national flags, was built for seating 6000 delegates and twice or thrice as many visitors. The pandal was tastefully decorated with flags, festoons and portraits of National Leaders past and present. The seating arrangements were in the good old style of squatting on the floor, spread with mats for the delegates and galleries for the visitors. There were no chairs, not even one for the President on the dais. All the delegates and most of the visitors were dressed in simple khadi clothes of eastern type, khadi which loudly proclaimed itself and was not shyly trying to hide its nature, like khadi clothes often affected by some lovers of khadi who because of their offices or other reasons would rather not have the nature of their apparel noticed. With the khadi cloth has disappeared also the fondness of western style in clothes and method of living. Gone are the days of Indian National leaders appearing in the People's Parliament like cheap replicas of the west, gone are the hats and the boots and the necessity of providing for Indian delegates living in European style, their palates relishing only European *cuisanne*.

Near by in front of the Congress pandal was a tall flag-post whereon the Swarajya flag, tricolour with charka mark, a flag hallowed by memories of recent sacrifices, by hundreds, some of whom were amongst the delegates and leaders in the Congress camp, was hoisted with solemn ceremony. All round the flag in a small square were the enquiry, reception, committee's and other offices which included a bank and a post-office as well.

The conservancy arrangements were excellent. The sandy nature of the soil was well taken advantage of to keep the urinals and latrines clean and dry. The Cocanada Municipality worked hand in hand with the Reception Committee in all these arrangements and not a little of the credit thereof is due to their willing and unstinted assistance. This fact is worthy of note for guidance in our Tamil Province, as being illustrative of the advantage of having Municipal bodies manned by patriotic citizens, imbued with ideas of national service. I may also mention here that the Cocanada Municipality presented an address of welcome to the President of the Congress, in an open public meeting held in its own compound adjoining the Town hall.

In the Congress-mela about 5 lakhs of people took part as delegates, visitors or sightseers. It speaks well of the excellence of the arrangements that there was no case of illness in all this vast throng.

It is a good habit that they have in Andhra Province that every person carries a *chembu* or other vessel when he goes out to the fields or waste lands for answering calls of nature. Public ponds and canals are thus religiously safeguarded from pollution. This custom as well as that of every delegate carrying his own drinking *lota* to the Dining rooms, was practised by one and all of the delegates at Gandhinagar, and is well worthy of adoption in the Tamil country on all occasions of festivals and other gatherings. The immunity from cholera and other contagious diseases which such an observance would ensure is no negligible gain, and it would involve but little care and less trouble for the individuals participating.

Yet another noteworthy feature of Andhra-desa which the Tamils should note and adopt is the use of Khaddar. Khaddar is really popular in Andhradesha. I may say that about 50 per cent of the people, use it. There are more Khaddar-users among the poorer classes than amongst the richer and middle-class gentry; possibly because the Khaddar is spun and woven by the wearers themselves; mostly cotton Khaddar sarees are generally worn by the women and silk is rare.

Coming down from Cocanada, away from Khaddar-land as it were, Madrassee Westernism overtook me and gave me a rude shock in the shape of a young lady who got into our compartment at Nellore. From out of a coffin-like long card-board box she took out a big-sized doll, all European in its get-up, and folded it as she would her child. The lady and her retinue were innocent of Khaddar; they were evidently rich and in a superior tone she proudly informed us that she had given Rs. 100 for her toy adding that she ordered silk clothes for it at Chellaram's. The Madrasee milkman very often kills the

calf by starvation, in his greed. The stuffed skin of the calf is then utilised for deceiving the poor cow which fondly licks the stuffed carcass, thinking it to be its darling and yields its milk without trouble. It is a sight very distressful to look at for persons having any little humanitarian feeling in them. The sight of that demented female wasting her money and her maternity on that lifeless piece of German clay—costly no doubt—when there was so much of misery around her in the land, in a country where famine was chronic and millions of children die year by year prematurely for want of the barest necessities of life reminded me strongly of the Madrassee milkman, the mental distress caused by the sight being even greater. It is Khaddar and Khaddar alone that can cure such insanity.

I come then to the Khaddar exhibition. It was really an exhibition of handicraft from all parts of India. There were metallic ware useful and ornamental, fine artistic toys of marble, ivory, wood and metal, enamelling of various colours done beautifully on silver, and Khaddar, silk, wool and cotton handspun and hand-woven from all parts of India. The printed and dyed clothes from Bombay and various parts of Andhra; fine lace and silk bordered clothes and sarees all were eloquent of the energy and skill of the nation. There is no longer any excuse which could be pleaded with truth by persons who affect to despise Khaddar on the score of its roughness however fine and fastidious may be their tastes.

The Cocanada Congress has fully and completely belied the ominous prognostications about its popularity and proceedings made by enemies of India's progress. The Congress clearly showed by its proceedings that it stands for and by the whole Nation and of no sect, party are portion thereof. Unite, organise and work-that is the burden of the Congress proceedings and resolutions. Within the broad all-embracing fold of the Congress there is room for every-one of India's children who wishes well by her. There is work for all as well. The carrying out of the constructive programme of work is the duty of the entire nation and one and all could find out some department or other herein to devote himself to. Petty differences of opinion, temperamental mostly, should not any longer be allowed to keep away any one from joining the Congress and taking up a little of its work. As the President Mohammad Ali said it is by the minimum sacrifice of the largest number that this nation of 320 millions should achieve Swaraj. The Cocanada Congress calls only for that minimum of sacrifice; a little of our time, money and energy from one and all of us.

Is this too much to ask for Swaraj. Let readers of the "*Hindu Message*" answer. Will they one and all join the Congress and do their little bit and carry the Message to their friends as well?

Is the Congress for Religious Reform?— II

By G. Harischandra Rao.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar at the 9th Social Conference, 1895, Poona, declared:—

'Certain circumstances have this year very widely evoked enthusiasm for the cause of social reform, and have led to a sort of constitution being given to this Conference similar to that which the *political* Congress possesses.' (The italics are mine.)

Again, Mr. Justice Ranade at the 9th Social Conference said:—

'The two assemblies as you know have nothing whatever to do with each other. Their organizations are separate, their modes of work are separate, their publications and objects are separate...'

Similarly, Mr. Justice Telang made the following observations, associating the Congress with political work only and showing that social reform could not offer a common platform:—

'In *political* matters we can all unite at once. Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis, the people of Eastern India, Southern India, Western India, Northern India,—all can unite, and not only can do so in theory, they have actually done so in practice, as demonstrated at the *National Congress* held last Christmas. What is the secret of this? The answer is obvious. Evils, or supposed evils, are common; the remedies, not being in any way mixed up with any very powerful traditions, are also the same; and all intelligent Indian opinion is necessarily unanimous. In regard to social matters, the conditions are all altered. The evils, for one thing, are not identical. The surrounding conditions are excessively various. The force of traditions and old memories is not equal all round. And the remedies, therefore, that suggest themselves to different minds are almost of necessity different. It is plain, then, that the advantages to secure which we can all unite ought to be tried first, so that we may obtain the benefit of the fraternal feeling which must be generated by such co-operation. If political reform is thus secured by the concerted action of all the educated classes in India, that must, and inevitably will, tell favourably on the advancement of social reform' (The *italics* are mine).

(3) A promiscuous body would be incompetent to discuss religious or social questions. This was realized by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, President of the Second Congress, who spoke thus:—

'But, besides this, there are Hindus of every caste, among whom, even in the same province, customs and social arrangements differ widely—there are Muhammadans and Christians of various denominations, Parsees, Sikhs, Brahmos, and what not—men indeed of each and all of those numerous classes which constitute in the aggregate the people of India. How can this gathering of all classes discuss the social reforms needed in each individual class? What do any of us know of the internal home-life, of the customs, traditions, feelings, prejudices, of any class but our own? How could a gathering, a cosmopolitan gathering like this, discuss to any purpose the reforms needed in any one class? Only the members of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed. A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class Congresses.' (Congress Report, p. 54.)

W. C. Bonnerji, as President of the 8th Congress, observed as follows:—

The principal reason which actuated us in coming to that conclusion was that at our gathering there would attend delegates following different religions, living under different social systems, all more or less interwoven with their respective religions, and we felt it would not be possible for them as a body to discuss social matters. How is it possible for a Hindu gentleman to discuss with a Parsee or a Muhammadan gentleman matters connected with Hindu social questions? And how is it possible far a Parsee gentleman to discuss with Hindu and Muhammadan gentlemen matters connected with Parsee social customs? We thought, and I hope you will agree that we were right, that under the circumstances, all we

could do was to leave it to the Hindus and the Muhammadans, Parsees, and other delegates to discuss their respective social matters in a friendly spirit amongst themselves, and arrive at what conclusions they pleased, and if possible, to get the minority to submit to the views of the majority.' (Congress Report).

When questions affecting a community are being discussed persons of other communities are apt to be cold, if not troublesome, and by their behaviour vitiate the issue.

To be continued.

The Influence of the Press on the Development of Empire.

By The Right Hon. VISCOUNT BURNHAM, C.H.

Were I to follow the example of eminent speakers to whom London has listened much during the last two years, I should preface my address with an apology that I have had no time to prepare myself for the duty, immediately before producing a thick folio of typewritten matter. I will not do that, but I shall apologise to this audience, every one of whom is an expert on Colonial affairs, for addressing them at all, and I beg formally to ask each one to correct my mistakes and to counter my fallacies. I wish also to express the satisfaction that it gives me to appear under the chairmanship of Lord Milner, whom as a lifelong journalist I regard as one of the outstanding names in my profession during my generation.

A hundred years ago the French historian, de Tocqueville, wrote that "the Press constitutes a singular power so strangely composed of good and evil that liberty could not live without it and public order could hardly be maintained against it." Liberty and order are the fundamental principles on which that great mosaic of different races is put together, not without intention and design, but largely as a result of British courage and British self-reliance, which we call the British Empire, for want of a better or a truer description. I prefer the old and honoured term of Empire to the new-fangled Commonwealth of Nations, for all its pomposity of phrase. It is only a half truth to say, as Seeley said in his *Expansion of England*, that "the British conquered half the world in a fit of absence of mind," for there were always from the days of Bacon and Raleigh those seers in whose prophetic minds the vision of a world-wide dominion stretching from one sea to another, even unto the world's end, was ever present in the inspired moments when they gazed into the crystal ball of British destiny. Even the plantations in America were so regarded by many of the philosophers and statesmen of Stuart times. Bacon said of Virginia, "certainly it is with the kingdom of earth as it is in a kingdom of heaven, sometimes a grain of mustard seed proves a great tree– who can tell?" And the Earl of Southampton, the patron of the Virginia Society, wrote "the hopeful country of Virginia is a land which will find full employment for all needy people, will provide estates for all younger brothers, gentlemen of this kingdom, and will supply this kingdom with commodities we are fain to fetch from foreign nations, from doubtful friends, yea, from heathen princes." Such words have the true ring of Imperial patriotism about them, and are being applied with the multiple force of subsequent experience in our present time of trouble to the politics and economics of the British Dominions. While, however, the plantation spirit prevailed in the treatment of British possessions beyond the seas although order might have been upheld by intermittent courses of laxity and intolerance, the idea of liberty had no exist-

Continued on page 45

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* Paper read at a Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, held at Edward VII Rooms, Hotel Victoria, on Tuesday, November 13th, 1923, at 8-30 p.m., The Right Hon. Viscount Milner, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., in the Chair.

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ence, except in the sense in which the Romans used it of old, *imperium et libertas*, Empire over others and liberty for themselves.

The history of the West Indies is full of such examples, as the case of Daniel Parke, the Governor-in-Chief and Captain General of the Leeward Islands in the reign of Queen Anne so typically proves and exemplifies. Daniel Parkes's may be an extreme instance of what was possible in the days when newspapers could hardly be said to exist and when public opinion of a primitive and truculent hue was only roused by the passionate outburst of popular fury at some high handed act of unprecedented oppression. This man had been expelled from the House of Commons for bribery, and the instructions issued for his prosecution had only been stopped by a courtier's intervention. He had had a disgraceful liaison with the wife of a captain in the Guards, and he was known in London as a thorough-paced ruffian. Luckily for his star, at all events at its rising, he obtained an appointment as A.D.C to the Duke of Marlborough and was commissioned to bring back to Queen Anne the news of the "famous victory" of Blenheim. So partly for that cause, and also, perhaps, for his fine presence, he was appointed in 1706 Governor-in-Chief and Captain-General of the "Leeward Caribbean Islands" After every sort of criminal and half-maniacal folly, the people rose up against him, and he was torn to pieces by a savage mob that dragged him out of the timber house, which is still shown to the curious visitor. His successor was not much more popular than he was, but as grievances precede supply, so it required the worst examples that the England of that day could furnish to obtain for the people of the West Indies the smallest care, or, one might say, the tardiest act of conscience on the part of the British Crown. No doubt, however, some of the words used of the Leeward Islands then have been true of the West Indies throughout their history :—

"The people of Nevis expect the Queen should do everything for them, though they do not endeavour to help themselves."

After those days, one reform was secured which has since fallen into desuetude, for each West Indian Island obtained the right to have its own Colonial Agent in London, who was instructed by the Local Legislature, or, where there was no Praliamentary Constitution, by the Local Council, how he was best to promote their interest at the seat of Empire.

Had not a great change come over Colonial administration in the last hundred years or more it is highly probable that all our oversea possessions would have followed in the wake of the United States, and that the Declaration of Independence would have been repeated in many another case with such variations as to suit the particular circumstances of time and place. But, without doubt, the change of heart or at any rate the change of mind that followed was due to political development at home as much as to the warning of the American Revolution. In his great speech on conciliation with America in 1774, Edmund Burke said, in the House of Commons : "I do not choose wholly to break the American spirit, because it is the spirit that has made the country." Too late, it was perceived that whatever the technical merits of the controversy on the right of taxation, the American colonies understood the essential principles of the British Constitution far better than did George III and his Ministers.

To be continued.

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* * * *

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